The heads of the men are not shaven, but the hair is 302
cropped close to the skull by the barber, a tonsure re-
sembling that of a European or American army recruit. The
face is shaven clean, save the moustache which has great
social significance as a sign of masculinity. A man with- 302
out some sort of stubble on his upper lip is in danger of 831
being reputed "not quite a man" among both the men and,
more injurious to vanity, the women. Indeed, the moustache,
through an understandable cultural process, has come to be
a necessary attribute of virile beauty, and a person with
a luxuriant growth, though destitute of other physical
qualities, may be regarded as handsome by the women. Even
officials and officers, who often wear their hair long,
do not shave the upper lip. A full beard is worn by only 302
a few elderly men in the town, and is interpreted as a
sign of both age and piety. Never, in recent years, is
the beard, when white or grey, stained with henna, and
this usage, ordinary in southern Iraq, is vilified as [186]
"Persian" and "Shiite" with the greatest of scorn. Towns-
men are also supposed to shave the hair under the arms
and around the genitals, although it is again difficult to
say to what extent the custom is followed, for it is a [834]
great disgrace for a man to be seen naked by others. Ex-
cept for the cologne of the barber, men do not use
cosmetics or perfumes. In this connection, however, one 517
might mention the usage, in spring, of inhaling the 824
fragrance of cut blossoms. Characteristically, a host 574

wife, while taking advantage of labor which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few toys, including dolls, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is no standard parental formula for masturbation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Kurdish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the townspeople are turned to more serious matters, those of the youths toward a career and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while aristocratic youths usually ignore both school and labor, following their fathers and elder brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Rowanduz

There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, and both youths and maidens are wed by their parents soon after it is believed they have reached maturity, usually at sixteen years for the girls and eighteen for the boys. Strong feeling is also found against arranging the marriage of a daughter younger than one of her unmarried sisters. Romantic love, just as it is understood in Europe and America, is a prominent feature of adolescence, although there is little chance of any physical realization prior to the wedding. A youth and maiden in love may arrange rare meetings in secret, and exchange gifts, embroidered handkerchiefs, flowers, apples, or even rings. If both are literate, they may send notes to one another. Most of these affairs, however, are confined to the exchange of passionate glances at public festivals, such as a birth, a circumcision, or one of the religious feasts, and are ended by one or the other of the two parties being engaged to some other person. Several young men told of their love for girls in adolescence, and how their parents had ultimately betrothed them, youths and maidens alike, to persons they hardly knew or did not particularly desire. It is possible for either a youth or a maiden to balk at such arrangements, occasionally with success. "If a daughter loves a certain youth and her parents ask her to marry another, she may refuse them. She cannot reveal the identity of her loved one to her father or brother (sometimes the youth is unaware of this passion), but her mother usually knows the person of whom she is enamoured,

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[831] [836]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic mu'adhdhin, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

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Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new home with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Sulaimani, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[146]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives. [831]

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women guests departed.

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The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the home and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

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In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let is loose. In this connexion it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[147] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

[776]

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, *jinns* and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[148]. In regard to Islamised Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Krohn calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the precautionary measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grenard, Krohn writes: "Es handelt sich sich danach nur um Massnahmen, die Frau aus ihrem Sippenkultverband auszulösen und in einen neuen, den der Sippe des Mannes, aufzunehmen"[149]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[150]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe the heavy stick.

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The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that to the regret of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Krohn's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the man's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the hand which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to assure

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Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a clumsy wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red ochre silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amouting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[53], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus ran the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

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831 684 the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured husband, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the woman gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the metre of white cotton material that comprised the actual, detachable, bridal sheet would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride sheet would be washed and included in the household linen.

585 831 In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting woman, who roughly dries the bride's genital opening in order to obtain as clear a trace on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a stained bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

183 562 684 831 Hay[134] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman ... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's *namûs* or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[135] says that is was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une coutume consistant à mettre sur le lit des nouveaux mariés un linge blanc ("pyslâr"), qu'on renvoie ensuite aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

585 831 191 The use of the bridal sheet with the Iranian Lurs is mentioned by Feilberg[136]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not pass the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[137], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "... the man being chivalrous enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to soil the bed linen ...". To this can be put Nerreter's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is seldom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "denn sie wissen Künste"[138].

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595 *Polygamy and divorce.* According to the Coran, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[139], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[140].

586 587 The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing *talâq*: "I renounce thee" or, better: "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the *'idda*-period[141] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[142]. By *talâq* a man can twice divorce himself from his wife but, should he regret his act, can without further

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Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and measures in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place[1] (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it[2] (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period[3]. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations[4]. 1515 B88

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are *kuppi*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qā'im maqām* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Topzawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadala, lying in the valley between Charmahand and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as Ali-Ilahi, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kaka'i and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order[5] Naqshbandi[6], Naqshbandiya[7], founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Mohammed Baha-ed-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Maulana Khalid of the Jaf tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan[8], a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh Arif a secret society for the practice of sodium. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 391

According to Edmonds[9] it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim of Shadala, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh Arif above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dance of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 831

795 831 used a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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991 989 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the food coloured over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and covered varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals in a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan there were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[1], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and covered. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 989 [822] A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Iarkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Tqqawa); and a blue button was fastened to a finger sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[2].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287d), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[3], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[4] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[5]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in